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OUTDOOR TERMS IN IRANIAN

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The following communication, some of whose contents were presented in August 1960 to the XXVth International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow, is mainly based on new dialect material which I collected in Bašākard in 1956.¹ By this humble tribute to a great scholar, patron of learning, and statesman, whom I was singularly privileged twenty years ago to count as one of my teachers in Persian, I wish to convey not only my deep esteem and admiration, but also a sense of personal gratitude in respect of the subject matter in hand. For without Mr. Taqizadeh's support in Teheran on the eve of my departure for Bašākard, I could not have sampled the remarkable dialects which survive precariously in the rugged wilderness of one of the most beautifully desolate and isolated regions of Iran.

LAND

In what has been called the georgic chapter of the Avesta, viz. book III of the Vendidad,² it is said in §§ 4 and 23 that the most pleasant districts to live in, are those where man grows the largest amount of corn, grass, and fruit trees. This statement is followed by the double clause

(a) *yaŋ vā anāpəm āi āpəm kərənaoiti*

(b) *yaŋ vā āpəm āi anāpəm kərənaoiti.*

Bartholomae regarded line (b) as spurious, although all MSS have it in § 23, and only four omit it in § 4. Line (a) he translated "wo man

¹ New abbreviations here used are NBš for Northern Baškardī, SBš for Southern Baškardī, Bš for Baškardī (applied to features which the two dialect groups have in common), and Rdb for the dialects spoken in the region of Rūdbār, which lies to the north of Baškardī, and whose capital is Kahnūf. A preliminary report on the Bš dialects will be published shortly. A description of Baškardī has been printed in the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XLVI (1959), 213 sqq.

² F. A. Cannizzaro, *Il capitolo georgico dell'Avesta*, Messina, 1913.

zur Wüste hin Wasser schafft". His unusual interpretation of *kərāna-oiti* rested on the assumption that the hapax *āi* was a preverb, although no such preverb is attested in any other IE language.

A more attractive rendering, which moreover takes into account both lines of the clause, was offered by W. Geiger: "where one makes dry land irrigated, and (where one makes) marsh-land dry".¹ Geldner's² and Darmesteter's³ translation was similar. The interpretation of *āpəm* as a thematic adj. meaning "soaked in water, wet"⁴ is in agreement with the Pahl. translation of *āpəm* as *āpōmand*. On the other hand, no explanation of the mysterious word *āi* has been offered in support of this translation, beyond Geldner's suggestion that it may be a corruption of *āya*, the fem. instr. sg. of the dem. pron. *a-*, referring to an implied substantive *zəmā* "earth, land", also in the instr. In fact, the reasonable rendering of the whole passage by the earlier translators almost forces upon the reader the impression that *āi* is a neuter substantive meaning "earth", "soil", or "land". As soon as the word is viewed in this light the archaic Greek *αἶα* "earth, land" presents itself as an obvious cognate, in which suffixation appears to have reduced a rare type of an IE neuter *i* stem to a familiar pattern.

In Iranian, too, a noun consisting of a mere diphthong could hardly be expected to survive unless its body had been extended by suffixation. The addition of the common suffix *-ka-* would give rise to a stem **āika-*, and since long diphthongs were apt to lose their second element in Middle Iranian,⁵ a ready etymology for Pers. *xāk* is found, on the assumption that the initial *x-* is prothetic as in *xāya*. *xāk* does not only mean "soil" and "dust", but also "Erdboden" (F. Wolff, *Glossar*);⁶ in parts of Baškardia *xāk* is used as the equivalent of Persian *zamīn* and Bal. *dighār*, in the sense of "ground on which one walks or sits".

¹ *Ostiranische Kultur*, 385.

² *KZ*, XXX, 522.

³ *Le Zend-Avesta*, II, 34.

⁴ For similar thematic adjectives cf. Av. *təmanha-* "dark", or Ved. *nabhasá* "misty, damp".

⁵ Cf. e.g. Pahl. *vāspuhrak*, Bartholomae, *WZKM*, XXV, 254 sqq., or Sogd. *ś-*, *GMS*, § 129.

⁶ Cf. *āfarīnanda-yī āb u xāk* "the Creator of water and earth", *Šāh Nāma* (Vullers), I, 371.872, or *z-in xāk čand ast tā čarx-i māh* "how far is it from this earth to the moon?", *ibid.*, 411.462.

With Pers. *xāk* Morgenstierne has connected Kurd. *āx*, NTS XII, 266, suggesting a derivation from **āhaka-*, and implying that Kurd. *-x* here represents an old *h*. The above considerations rather suggest that the *-x* of *āx* corresponds to the *-k* of *xāk*, either as an alternative suffix,¹ or as a secondary development of *-k*.²

The *i* of Av. *āi* has disappeared in *xāk* and *āx*, but an indirect trace of it may have been preserved in the *y* of the Sogdian word for "earth", *z'y*. This is to assume that *zāi* resulted from an early Sogdian contamination of the OIr. nom. sg. *zā(h)* of the stem *zam-*, with the nom. sg. *āi* of the stem *āi-*. One may recall that a comparable development may have taken place in Greek, where γαῖα "earth" is thought to be the result of a contamination of γᾱ and αῖα, cf. E. Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.*, I, 473.

SPADE

The Persian word for "spade", *bēl*, has been regarded as a case of imāla, as Persian dialects also have *bāl*.³ Other variants are MPers. *byr*,⁴ Kurd. *bēr*, Arm. *bah*, and Bal. *bard*,⁵ Gabri (etc.) *bard(a)*.⁶ These apparently conflicting forms have long been a puzzle, but they become less refractory in the light of the new SBš variants *bāhr*, *bohr*. Here we have a representative of the Middle Iranian form of which Arm. *bah* is a simplification.⁷ SBš *bahr* (of which *bāhr* and *bohr* are most probably secondary alterations) and Bal. *bard* entitle us to start from OIr. **badra-*, a thematic extension of a stem **badar-*; the formation of the latter would have a close parallel in Av. *vadar-* "weapon".⁸

¹ Comparable to the *-x* of Oss. *zæx* "earth", on which see H. W. Bailey, *TPS*, 1945, 13.

² *-x* instead of expected *-k* also occurs in Kurd. *berx*, *barx* "lamb", against Wx *würk*, or SBš *vark*. It is doubtful whether one may postulate intermediate arabicized forms **āq*, **barq*, to be compared with Ar. *kurbāq* beside Pers. *kulba* and Arm. *krpak* (see A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die Fremdwörter*, 73 sq., and Henning, *Sogdica*, 55).

³ Cf. Horn, *Np. Et.*, 59, *GIP*, I², 33, and Söi *bāl* (Andreas, *Dialektaufzeichnungen*, 49), Abiāne'i, Semnānī *bāleh* (A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 424).

⁴ Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, 100, n.2.

⁵ Morgenstierne, *Acta Orientalia*, XX (1948), 288.

⁶ Ivanow, *The Gabri dialect*, 113 [*RSO*, XVIII, 7].

⁷ Cf. Arm. *kah* (Henning, *BSOAS*, X, 952, n. 5), *pah*, *zoh*, from **kahr*, **pahr*, **zohr*.

⁸ In connection with the formation here presumed of OIr. **badra-*, one may also regard OPers. *vaθra-* as a thematization of a stem **vaθar-*. The latter would be related to **vaθa-* as Av. *vadar-* is to *vada-*. An OPers. stem **vaθa-*,

The metathesized form **bard*, which survived unchanged in Bal., was bound to become *bāl* in Persian, while the unthematic **badar-* would account for MPers. *byr* and Kurd. *bēr* as contractions of **bayar*. Pers. *bēl* will then be due to a contamination of *bēr* with *bāl*. Ultimately the reconstructed OIr. stem **badar-* can be assigned to the IE base **bhedh-*, which underlies Lat. *fodio* "to dig", etc.

CHANNEL

Two distinct meanings are attached to the Persian word *nāv*: (1) "boat", and (2) "canal, aqueduct".¹ In the dialect of Madaglašt in Chitral *nau* means an open pipe consisting of a hollowed-out tree-trunk,² and in Baškardia words going back to an older **nāvaḥ*³ denote hollowed-out tree-trunks used for irrigation purposes. The modern Iranian evidence alone might be used as confirmation of the theory that the IE word for "ship", *nāu-*, originally meant a hollowed-out tree-trunk. This theory has hitherto largely rested on the fact that Norwegian *nu* means a trough consisting of such a trunk.⁴ The evidence is, however, not only modern Iranian, but can be traced back to the beginnings of Iranian literature.

The Avestan adj. *nāvaya-* means not only "navigable", like its Old Persian counterpart *nāviya-*,⁵ but is also applied to waters running in channels. The Pahlavi translators were well aware of the second meaning, which they rendered by *nāu-tāk* "running in channels", and glossed by another word for "channel", *kaṭas*.⁶ The natural inference is that OIr. *nāu-*, like NPers. *nāv*, denoted two distinct contrivances: (1) a ship, and (2) a channel presumably

corresponding to Av. **vasa-*, can be postulated on the strength of Oss. *uæ*s "axe", which Sir Harold Bailey has identified as a cognate of Ved. *vāṣī*, see TPS, 1952, 55 sq. This analysis of OPers. *vaθra-* lends support to the interpretation of OPers. *vaθrabara-* as meaning "battle-axe bearer", cf. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius Hystaspis*, 42, and A. T. Olmstead, *Hist. Pers. Emp.*, 218.

¹ For the second meaning cf. also Pš *nāwa* "gutter, tube".

² See D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Phonology of the Bakhtiari . . . dialects*, 204.

³ NBš *nox* (Bešnū), *nūōg* (Darzeh). Thus also Rdb *nawōk*.

⁴ Some additional support from western languages has been provided by J. Hubschmid, *Revue internat. d'onomastique*, IV (1952), 17-19, duly quoted by Pokorný in his *Idg. Wb.*, pp. 755 sq.

⁵ From "navigable" the meaning "deep" could develop, cf. W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, XII, 309.

⁶ On *kaṭas* as an explanation of Av. *āpō nāvayā* v. Henning, *BSOS*, IX, 84, 91, and Herzfeld, *AMI*, II, 63 sq., VII, 103 n., *Ap. Inschr.* 224 n., 324 n.

consisting, at least originally, of one or more hollowed-out tree-trunks. Only by attributing to OIr. *nāu-* also the second meaning do we obtain a convincing reason why Av. *āpō nāvayā* is used in the sense of "channel waters".

Here also Pers *nāvdān* must be mentioned, which is usually translated as "gutter, spout", but in its Manūjānī form *nāudōn* again denotes a hollowed-out tree-trunk used as channel. The obvious derivation of this noun is from an OIr. compound **nāu-tānu-*, in which **tānu-* will be a side form of Ved. *sthānū* "tree-trunk". The literal meaning of the compound will have been "channel-trunk, tree-trunk used as channel".

GRASS

The word to be considered is in its Persian form *giyāh*, in MPers. *gy'w*, and in Bš *gīdā(h)*, *gīda*.¹ The Bš variant, which is common to both the northern and the southern dialect group, excludes the possibility, to which one might otherwise have given preference, of a derivation of Pers. *giyāh* from an OIr. word beginning with *vyā-*. To determine the origin of the *d* of Bš *gīdā(h)* it must be noted that both in NBš and SBš, *d* can only go back to an OIr. intervocalic *t* if the word concerned is a Pers. LW, which *gīdā(h)* evidently is not. In any case the ancestor of Pers. *giyāh* can hardly have had an internal *t*. The dental of the Bš word therefore continues an OIr. intervocalic *d* which became *y* in Persian. The survival of the intervocalic voiced dental is to be expected in NBš, but can be observed in SBš only where OIr. *d* followed an initial vowel that was lost before the mutation of *d* to *y* began to take place.² The existence of *gīdā(h)* in both dialect groups of Baškardi thus suggests that the word is a Baluči LW.

For guidance we shall turn to Makrani Baluči, as this is the variety of Baluči which is spoken in the immediate neighbourhood of Baškardia. Makr. Bal. has *mīd* "hair" from **mauda-*. If we apply the pattern of this development to *gīdā(h)* we obtain an OIr. word beginning with **gaudā°*, and since the MPers. form of our word has a final *-w*, we shall not hesitate to identify *gīdā(h)* with Av. *gaodāyu-*. In the one Avestic passage where *gaodāyu-* occurs it is used, like its

¹ Parachi *gihāi* derives according to Morgenstierne from Pers. *giyāh*, with reciprocal metathesis of *y* and *h*.

² Cf. SBš *dor* "udder" < **ūdar-*, against *darāyén* "hail", to be discussed under the next heading.

synonym *gaoiḍya-*, as an adjective qualifying not grass, but the man who offers grass to cattle; Bartholomae translated both compounds, as well as the Gāthic *gaodāyah-*, by "looking after cattle". However, the base *dā(y)-* properly means "to nourish", and beside *gao-dāyah-* Avestan has the adj. *drəgu-dāyah-* which, as it refers to water, obviously means "nourisher of the poor". Accordingly, the proper meaning of *gao-dāyu-* was "cattle-nourisher", which is an appropriate enough definition of grass.

No phonetic difficulty prevents the assumption of an assimilation in Persian, by which in proclitic position the *ō* of **gō-yā°* (< **gō-yā°*) became *i*.

HAIL

Among the interesting words of SBš is *dərāyén*, with its variant *drā'én*, meaning "hail". It reflects an OPers. form **drādunī-*, which is directly comparable to Ved. *hrādūnī* "hail". The Avestan form would be **zrādunī-*.

Once the existence in Iranian of this term for "hail" has been ascertained, it becomes difficult to believe that Sogd. *zyδn* "hail" does not go back to an older **zrādunī-*. The Sogdian word is spelled *zyδ[n]* in the Paris MS 14, line 10, in which *z* with a subscript dot stands for *ž*. The spelling therefore reflects a pronunciation *žēδan*, and proves that in certain circumstances the OIr. cluster *zr* became *ž* in Sogdian, just as OIr. *sr* became *š*.

In the case of the Yidya word for "hail", *žilo*, a parallel for the change of *zr* to *ž* is to be found in *žōi* "lake", from OIr. *zrayah-*. Persian, too, has a word for "hail" beginning with *ž-*, *žāla*, but this has been said to have no connection with either the Sogdian or the Yidya word.¹ A connection cannot, however, be excluded, as *žāla* may have been borrowed from an Eastern Iranian variant of Sogd. *žēδan* in which no palatalization of *ā* had taken place.

The origin, and even the formation of Ved. *hrādūnī* are not clear, but it is fair to analyse it as an extension by complex suffixation, of a base **hrād-*.² One may therefore also take into consideration the Av.

¹ E. Benveniste, *Textes Sogdiens*, 228²². For Pers. *žāla* an OIr. **jarda-* has been reconstructed, and compared with Lat. *gelidus* and Ved. *hrādūnī* (on the assumption that its *h* represents an IE aspirate velar), cf. Horn, *GIP*, I², 92, and Morgenstierne, *Acta Orientalia*, I, 266.

² Cf. H. W. Bailey's analysis of Ved. *angoṣṭh* in *BSOAS*, XX, 52.

compound *zaraḍa-γnyāi*. A paraphrase of the difficult passage in which it occurs, *Vend.* i, 14, is given in *Gt. Bd.* 207, 14.¹ There a reference to hail (*takarg*) is found at the place where one would expect a Pahl. equivalent of the Av. compound to appear.² It may therefore be suggested that *zaraḍa-* is written for **zraḍa-*, and the latter either really meant "hail", or was thought by the Pahlavi commentator to have had that meaning because it resembled an Av. word he knew as **zrādunī-*, whose existence would thus be indirectly attested.

OUTSIDE

The peculiar use of Iranian words meaning "outside" to denote nakedness has not yet attracted attention. In the Sogdian version of the Vessantara Jātaka the children of Sudāśan, reduced to slavery, are said to have been driven away *β'ypδt n'γ'r δβz' mwort'yt* (*Vj*, 1092 sq.), in E. Benveniste's translation 'sans pieds, incapables de marcher',³ *morts de faim*". The interpretation of *β'ypδt* as "sans pieds", apart from being questionable semantically, meets with a phonological difficulty, in that it implies the identity of Sogd. *β'γ-* with the Pers. privative prefix *bē-*. The two prefixes are irreconcilable, because Pers. *bē-*, and its MPers. antecedent *'by-*, represent an OIr. form with intervocalic *p* (cf. Arm. *ape-*), while in Sogdian an ancient intervocalic *p* never becomes *β*.

A simple alternative explanation of the Sogd. prefix *β'γ-* consists in relating it to the Sogd. adverb *β(γ)yk* "outside". That the latter is indeed a *k* extension of a MIr. adverb *bē* "out, away",⁴ is shown by the existence of the unextended form in Pahl., where Bartholomae has identified it as a component of *bē-rōn* "outside", *bē-tom* (MPers.

¹ Cf. A. Christensen, *Le premier chapitre*, 42.

² Is Pahl. *snyhr tkrg* a corruption of **snyh-y tkrg = zaraḍa-γnyāi* = "hail-blow"?

³ Actually *n'γ'r* means "on an empty stomach", v. *GMS*, § 63. It may be noted incidentally, that in altering his earlier rendering of *prt'mch w'pt* in the Vessantara Jātaka from "tomba en avant" to "tomba évanouie" (*OLZ*, 1960, p. 9), M. Benveniste seems to have overlooked that this correction had already been proposed in *GMS*, pp. 248 sq. M. Benveniste's explanation of *prt'mch*, however, differs somewhat from the one I had envisaged. Moreover, his translation implies that *prt'mch* is exclusively a fem. adj.; if this were the case, one would infer that the word is an old *-aka-* stem. The subject of *w'pt* is, however, masc. in *Vj* 205, 1278, and 1308. It would appear that the *-ch* (*-cy*) of *prt'mch* (*prt'mcy*) has adverbial function, like the *-c* of *r'δc* "on the way".

⁴ H. W. Bailey, *BSOS*, VII, 73; IX, 1058.

by-dwm) "extremus",¹ and *bē-šahrīk* "outlandish".² With Sogd. *βyk* goes Pers. *bēg-āna*, Pahl. *bēk-ānak* "stranger", whose synonym *bēt-ānak* in the *Frahang-i Pahlavīk* shows the same *bē-* extended by *t*.³ The *t* extension is further attested in MPers. *byndr* "outside",⁴ while an *n* extension is seen in Parth. *b'yn* "outer". A *č* suffix which may, but need not represent the OIr. enclitic *-čit*, appears in MPers. *byc*, Parth. *byc*, *byč* "but".⁵ Parth., moreover, has *byh* "outside".

According to the above interpretation of Sogd. *β'y-*, the literal meaning of *β'ypδ* is "whose feet are outside". That this amounts to saying "barefoot" is borne out by a Bš idiom which consists in defining any part of the body that is not clad as "being outside". Thus I recorded SBš *sar a-dār-in* (*a*=Pers. *až*) "I am bare-headed (*lit.* I am with my head outside)", *pū a-dār-om* "we are barefoot"; NBš *sār-om ei-dar-i* (explained as "*sar-am bīrūn ast*"), *sār-om ei-dār būd*, *sār-et ei-dar-i* or simply *sār-et dar-i*, *ā sār-i ei-dār-e* ("*sar-eš bīrūn ast*"), *ā'ūn sār-šūn ei-dār-e* "I am, was, thou art, he is, they are, bare-headed" (*ei*=Pers. *až*; *-i*, *-e*= "is"); NBš *ǰōn-šōn ei-dār-a* (or *ei-dār būd*) "they were naked" (*ǰōn*= "body"). The addition of the suffix *-i* has produced in NBš the adverbially used adjectives *pā-eidarī* "barefoot" and *ǰōn-eidarī* "naked".

With a different word for "outside" the same result is achieved in Rūdbāri, where *pā'ōn-om ei-leid-en* (*lit.* "my feet are outside"), recorded from a Jūsī informant, means "I am barefoot". Here *leid* is the Rdb variant, also met with in the NBš dialects of Mārz and Kangarū, of Bš and Kermānī *lard* "*bīrūn*". The same idiom can now be seen to exist also in Baluči, where the hitherto unexplained compounds *sardari* "bare-headed" (Mayer) and *khīndar* "naked" (Dames, *Textbook*) literally mean "having one's head, respectively anus, outside".

To complete the information on the expression in Bš of the notion of nakedness, the compound *pā-xwavés* "bare-foot" may be quoted, which was noticed only in the SBš dialect of the district known as Gwafr. At first I felt sure that *-xwavés* harks back to the

¹ *Zum air. Wb.*, 50 n.

² *Mitteliranische Mundarten*, III, 34 n.

³ Cf. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, II, 35.

⁴ Cf. Henning, *ZII*, IX, 231^{as}, and Barr, *Pahl. Ps.*, s.v. *nyndly*.

⁵ Cf. Bartholomae, *Zum air. Wb.*, 51 n. In the Parth. version of the Great Inscr. of Šāpūr, line 16, *byc* means "except".

imaginative Av. epithet *xvā.aθra-* "barefoot", *lit.* "wearing one's own, natural footwear". For *θr* becoming *s* in SBš there are other examples, and *-ave-* seemed explainable as either from *-a-e* < *-ā-e* < *-ā-au*,¹ with the original hiatus bridged by a glide, or from *-awe-* < *-awa-* < *-āwa-* < *-ā-au-*, with an exceptional metathesis of the type represented by Pš *rwaj* "day", which might have been favoured by the presence of *w* in the preceding syllable. On further consideration, however, I began to doubt whether *-xwavés* should not rather be derived from Av. *hvāvastra-* "naked", *lit.* "wearing one's own dress", which seemed to account more easily for the *-ve-* of the SBš word, and, moreover, would make it unnecessary to regard the *pā* of *pā-xwavés* as redundant. Fortunately Dr D. N. MacKenzie was able to provide the decisive evidence. In his unpublished list of Suleimaniya Kurdish words, which he had generously placed at my disposal, I noticed the adj. *pēxāwis* "barefoot". Consulted on the doubt which beset me, Dr MacKenzie quoted from his collections not only Sul. and Mukri Kurd. *pē-xāw(u)s*, and NKurd. *pē-xwās*, but also Haurāmī *pā-wirwā* "barefoot"; *-wirwā*, he considers, can be derived from **wāur-* < **xwāuh-* < **xwāuθra-*, while Av. *hvāvastra-*, obviously, would not account for the Haurāmī form.

Thus the derivation of Gwafrī *-xwavés* from *xvā.aθra-* is assured. It illustrates not only the occasional survival in special combinations, of once common OIr. words which later became almost extinct,² but also the unpredictable popularity of poetic expressions so daring, that their mere appearance in one or two Avestan passages would not have warranted the belief that they were commonly used even in Avestan.³

¹ SBš *e* < *au* is attested in *res* "sun; day".

² Apart from the words for "barefoot" quoted above, OIr. *aθra-* has been recognized only in Khwar. *'wš* "shoe", v. Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, 109, n.4.

³ The usual Av. word for "naked" is *mayna-*; cf. Pers. *pā-barahna* "barefoot", bearing in mind Henning's derivation of *barahna* from **bayna-* (v. *GMS*, § 362).